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PUBLIC SPIRIT
OF THE
WHIGS.

Polit. Pamphlet vol. 88.
Set forth in their General

Declaration of the Author
1810

CRISIS

According to the First Original Copy.

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Dan Swift

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THE
PUBLICK SPIRIT
OF THE
WHIGS, &c.

I Cannot without some Envy, and a just Resentment against the opposite Conduct of others; reflect upon that Generosity and Tenderness wherewith the Heads and Principal Members of a struggling Faction treat those who will undertake to hold a Pen in their Defence. And the Behaviour of these Patrons is yet the more laudable, because the Benefits they confer are almost *gratis*: If any of their Labourers can scratch out a Pamphlet, they desire no more; there is no Question offered about the Wit, the Style, the Argument. Let a Pamphlet come out upon demand in a proper Juncture, you shall be well and certainly paid; you shall be paid before-hand, every one of the Party who is able to read and can spare a Shilling shall be a Subscriber; several Thousands of each Production shall be sent among their Friends thro' the Kingdom: The Work shall be reported admirable, sublime, unanswerable, shall serve to raise the sinking Clamours, and confirm the Scandal of introducing Popery and the Pretender upon the Queen and Her Ministers.

Among the present Writers on that Side, I can recollect but Three of any great Distinction, which are the *Flying-Post*, Mr. *Dunton*, and the Author of the *Crisis*: The first of these seems to have been much sunk in Reputation since the

the sudden Retreat of the *only true genuine Original Author* Mr. Ridpath, who is celebrated by the *Dutch Gazeteer* as *One of the best Pens of England*. Mr. Dunton hath been longer and more conversant in Books than any of the Three, as well as more voluminous in his Productions: However, having employ'd his Studies in so great a Variety of other Subjects, he hath I think but lately turned his Genius to Politicks. His famous Tract, entituled, *Neck or Nothing*, must be allowed to be the shrewdest Piece, and written with most Spirit of any which hath appeared from that Side since the Change of the Ministry: It is indeed a most cutting Satyr upon the Lord Treasurer and Lord *Balingbroke*, and I wonder none of our Friends ever undertook to answer it. I confess I was at first of the same Opinion with several good Judges, who from the Style and Manner supposed it to have issued from the sharp Pen of the E. of *N. H. m.*; and I am still apt to think it might receive his L^ds last Hand. The Third and Principal of this Triumvirate is the Author of the *Crisis*; who altho' he must yield to the *Flying-Post* in Knowledge of the World, and Skill in Politicks, and to Mr. Dunton in Keenness of Satyr, and Variety of Reading, hath yet other Qualities enough to denominate him a *Writer of a Superior Class* to either, provided he would a little regard the Propriety and Disposition of his Words, consult the Grammatical Part, and get some Information in the Subject he intends to handle.

Omitting the generous Countenance and Encouragement that have been shewn to the Persons and Productions of the Two former Authors, I shall here only consider the great Favour conferr'd upon the last. It hath been advertised for several Months in the *Englishman* and other Papers, that a Pamphlet, called *The Crisis*, should be published at a proper Time, in order to open the Eyes of the Nation. It was proposed to be printed by Subscription, Price a Shilling. This was a little out of Form; for Subscriptions are usually begged only for Books of great Price, and such as are not likely to have a general Sale. Notice was likewise given of what this Pamphlet should contain, only an Extract from certain Acts of Parliament relating to the Succession, which at least must sink Nine-pence in the Shilling, and leave but Three-pence for the Author's Political Reflections; so that
nothing

nothing very wonderful or decisive could be reasonably expected from this Performance. But a Work was to be done, a hearty Writer to be encouraged, and accordingly many Thousand Copies were bespoke: Neither could this be sufficient; for when we expected to have our Bundles delivered us, all was stopt; the Friends to the Cause sprang a new Project, and it was advertised that the *Crisis* could not appear till the Ladies had shewn their Zeal against the *Pretender* as well as the Men; against the *Pretender* in the Bloom of his Youth, reported to be handsome, and endued with an Understanding exactly of a Size to please the Sex. I should be glad to have seen a printed List of the fair Subscribers prefixed to this Pamphlet; by which the *Chevalier* might know he was so far from *pretending* to a Monarchy here, that he could not so much as *pretend* to a Mistress.

At the destined Period, the first News we hear is of a huge Train of Dukes, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, and others, going to *Sam. Buckley's*, the Publisher of the *Crisis*, to fetch home their Cargo's, in order to transmit them by Dozens, Scores, and Hundreds, into the several Counties, and thereby to prepare the Wills and Understandings of their Friends against the approaching Sessions. Ask any of them whether they have read it? They will answer, No; but they have seen it every where, and it will do a World of Good: It is a Pamphlet, and a Pamphlet they hear against the Ministry, talks of Slavery, *France*, and the Pretender. They desire no more; it will settle the Wavering, confirm the Doubtful, instruct the Ignorant, inflame the Clamorous, tho' it never be once looked into. I am told by those who are expert in the Trade, that the Author and Bookseller of this Twelve-penny Treatise will be greater Gainers, than from one Edition of any Folio that hath been published these Twenty Years. What needy Writer would not sollicite to work under such Masters, who will pay us before-hand, take off as much of our Ware as we please at our own Rates, and trouble not themselves to examine either before or after they have bought it, whether it be Staple or no?

But in order to illustrate the implicate Munificence of these Noble Patrons, I cannot take a more effectual Method than by examining the Production it self; by which we shall easily find that it was never intended, further than from the
Noise,

Noise, the Bulk, and the Title of *Crisis*, to do any Service to the factious Cause. The entire Piece consists of a Title-Page, a Dedication to the Clergy, a Preface, an Extract from certain Acts of Parliament, and about Ten Pages of dry Reflections on the Proceedings of the Queen and her Servants; which his Coadjutors, the E— of N—ng—m, Mr. Danton, and the *Flying-Post*, had long ago set before us in a much clearer Light.

In Popish Countries, when some Impostor cries out, *A Miracle! A Miracle!* it is not done with a Hope or Intention of converting Hereticks, but confirming the deluded Vulgar in their Errors; and so the Cry goes round without examining into the Cheat. Thus the Whigs among us give about the Cry, *A Pamphlet! A Pamphlet! The Crisis! The Crisis!* not with a View of convincing their Adversaries, but to raise the Spirits of their Friends, recal their Stragglers, and unite their Numbers by Sound and Impudence, as Bees assemble and cling together by the Noise of Brags.

That no other Effect could be imagined or hoped for, by the Publication of this timely Treatise, will be manifest from some obvious Reflections upon the several Parts of it; wherein the Follies, the Falshoods, or the Absurdities appear so frequent, that they may boldly contend for Number with the Lines.

When the Hawker holds this Pamphlet towards you, the first Words you perceive are, *The Crisis: Or, A Discourse, &c.* The Interpreter of *Suidas* gives Four Translations of the Word *Crisis*; any of which may be as properly applied to this Author's Letter to the Bayliff of *Stockbridge*. Next, what he calls *A Discourse*, consists only of Two Pages, prefix'd to Twenty Two more, which contain Extracts from Acts of Parliament: For as to the Twelve last Pages, they are provided for by themselves in the Title, under the Name of *Some seasonable Remarks on the Danger of a Popish Successor*. Another Circumstance worthy of our Information in the Title-Page, is, That the Crown hath been settled by previous Acts. I never heard of any Act of Parliament that was not previous to what it enacted, unless those Two by which the Earl of *Strafford* and Sir *John Fenwick* lost their Heads, may pass for Exceptions. *A Discourse, representing from the most authentick Records.* He hath borrowed this

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Expression from some Writer, who probably understood the Words, but this Gentleman hath altogether misapplied them; and under Favour, he is wholly mistaken; for a Heap of Extracts, from several Acts of Parliament, cannot be called a Discourse: Neither do I believe, he copied them from the most authentick Records, which as I take it are lodged in the Tower, but out of some common printed Copy. I grant there is nothing material in all this, further than to shew the Generosity of our Adversaries in encouraging a Writer, who cannot furnish out so much as a Title-Page with Propriety or common Sense.

Next follows the Dedication to the Clergy of the Church of England, wherein the Modesty and the Meaning of the first Paragraphs are hardly to be march'd. He tells them, he hath made a *Comment upon the Acts of Settlement*, which he lays before them, and conjures them to recommend in their *Writings and Discourses to their Fellow-Subjects*; and he does all this, out of a just Deference to their great Power and Influence. This is the right Whig-Scheme of directing the Clergy what to preach. The Archbishop of Canterbury's Jurisdiction extends no further than over his own Province; but the Author of the *Crisis* constitutes himself Vicar-General over the whole Clergy of the Church of England. The Bishops in their Letters or Speeches to their own Clergy proceed no further than to *Exhortation*; but this Writer conjures the whole Clergy of the Church to recommend his *Comment upon the Laws of the Land in their Writings and Discourses*. I would fain know, who made him a *Commentator upon the Laws of the Land*; after which it will be Time enough to ask him, by what Authority he directs the Clergy to recommend his Comments from the Pulpit or the Press?

He tells the Clergy there are two Circumstances which place the Minds of the People under their Direction; the first Circumstance is their Education; the second Circumstance is the Tenents of our Lands. This last, according to the Latin Phrase, is spoken *ad iudicium*; for he knows well enough they have not a Twentieth. But if you take it his own Way, the Landlord has nine Parts in Ten of the People's Minds under his Direction. Upon this Rock the Author before us is perpetually splitting, as often as he ventures out beyond the narrow Bounds of his Literature. He has a

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confused Remembrance of Words since he left the University, but has lost half their Meaning, and puts them together with no regard but to their Cadence ; as I remember a Fellow nailed up Maps in a Gentleman's Closet, some sideling, others upside down, the better to adjust them to the Panels.

I am sensible it is of little Consequence to their Cause, whether this Defender of it understands Grammar or no ; And if what he would fain say, discovered him to be a Well-willer to Reason or Truth, I would be ready to make large Allowances. But when with great Difficulty I descry a Composition of Rancor and Falshood, intermixed with plausible Nonsense ; I feel a Struggle between Contempt and Indignation, at seeing the Character of a *Censor*, a *Guardian*, an *Englishman*, a *Commentator* on the *Laws*, an *Instructor* of the *Clergy*, assumed by a Child of Obscurity, without one single Qualification to support them.

This Writer, who either affects, or is commanded of late to copy after the B---p of *S-r-m*, hath, out of the Pregnancy of his Invention, found out an old Way of insinuating the grossest Reflections under the Appearances of Admonitions ; and is so judicious a Follower of the Prelate, that he taxes the Clergy for *enflaming their People with Apprehensions of Danger to them and THEIR Constitution, from Men who are innocent of such Designs*. When he must needs confess, the whole *Design* of his Pamphlet is to *enflame the People with Apprehensions of Danger* from the present Ministry, whom we believe to be at least as *innocent Men* as the last.

What shall I say to a Pamphlet, where the Malice and Falshood of every Line would require an Answer, and where the Dulness and Absurdities will not deserve one ?

By his pretending to have always maintained an inviolable Respect to the Clergy, he would insinuate, that those Papers among the *Tatlers* and *Spectators*, where the whole Order is abused, were not his own : I will appeal to all who know the Flatness of his Style, and the Barrenness of his Invention, whether he does not grossly prevaricate ? Was he ever able to walk without Leading-Strings, or swim without Bladders, without being discovered by his hobbling and his sinking ? Has he adhered to this Character in his Paper called the *Englishman*, whereof he is allowed to

be sole Author, without any Competition? What does he think of the Letter signed by himself, which relates to *Malesworth*, in whose Defence, he affronts the whole Convocation of *Ireland*?

It is a wise Maxim, that because the Clergy are no Civil Lawyers, they ought not to preach Obedience to Governors; and therefore they ought not to preach Temperance, because they are no Physicians: Examine all this Author's Writings, and then point me out a Divine who knows less of the Constitution of *England* than he; witness those many egregious Blunders in his late Papers, where he pretended to dabble in the Subject.

But the Clergy have it seems imbibed their Notions of Power and Obedience abhorrent from our Laws, from the pompous Ideas of Imperial Greatness, and the Submission to absolute Emperors. This is gross Ignorance, below a School-Boy in his *Lucius Florus*: The *Roman History*, wherein Lads are instructed, reaches little above Eight hundred Years, and the Authors do every where instil Republican Principles; and from the Account of Nine in Twelve of the first Emperors, we learn to have a Detestation for Tyranny. The *Greeks* carry this Point yet a great deal higher, which none can be ignorant of, who hath read or heard them quoted: This gave *Hobbes* the Occasion of advancing a Position directly contrary, that the Youth of *England* was corrupted in their Political Principles, by reading the Histories of *Rome* and *Greece*, which having been writ under Republicks, taught the Readers to have ill Notions of Monarchy: In this Assertion there was something specious, but that advanced by the *Crispi* could only issue from the profoundest Ignorance.

But would you know his Scheme of Education for young Gentlemen at the University? It is, That they should spend their Time in perusing those Acts of Parliament, whereof his Pamphlet is an Extract, which, if it had been done, the Kingdom would not be in its present Condition, but every Member sent into the World thus instructed, since the Revolution, would have been an Advocate for our Rights and Liberties.

Here now is a Project for getting more Money by the *Crispi*, to have it read by Tutors in the Universities. I thoroughly agree with him, that if our Students had been
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thus employ'd for Twenty Years past, *the Kingdom had not been in its present Condition.* But we have too many of such Proficients already among the young Nobility and Gentry, who have gathered up their Politicks from Chocolate Houses and Factious Clubs, and who if they had spent their Time in hard Study at Oxford or Cambridge, we might indeed have said, that the factious Part of this Kingdom *had not been in its present Condition*, or have suffered themselves to be taught, that a few Acts of Parliament relating to the Succession are preferable to all other *Civil Institutions* whatsoever. Neither did I ever before hear, that an Act of Parliament relating to one particular Point could be called a Civil Institution.

He spends almost a Quarto Page in telling the Clergy, that they will be certainly perjured if they bring in the Pretender whom they have abjured; and he wisely reminds them, that they have sworn without Equivocation or Mental Reservation; otherwise the Clergy might think, that as soon as they received the Pretender, and turned Papists, they would be free from their Oath.

This honest, civil, ingenious Gentleman knows in his Conscience, that there are not Ten Clergymen in England, (except Non-jurors) who do not abhor the Thoughts of the Pretender reigning over us much more than himself. But this is the Spirit of the B. p. of J. v. which our Author licks up and swallows, and then coughs out again, with an Addition of his own Phlegm. I would fain suppose the Body of the Clergy were to return an Answer by one of their Members to these worthy Counsellors. I conceive it might be in the following Terms.

My Lord and Gentlemen, We would you know us. But the Clergy come and me to give you Thanks for your Advice; and if they know any Crimes from which either of you were as free, as they are from those which you so earnestly exhort them to avoid, they would return your Favour as near as possible in the same Style and Manner. However, that your Advice may not be wholly lost, particularly that Part of it which relates to the Pretender, they desire you would apply it to more proper Persons. Look among your own Leaders; examine which of them engaged in a Plot to restore the late King James, and receiv'd Pardons under his Seal; examine which of them have

have been since tampering with his pretended Son, and to gratify their Ambition, their Avarice, their Malice and Revenge, are now willing to restore him at the Expence of the Religion and Liberty of their Country. Retire, good my Lord, with your Pupil, and let us hear no more of these Hypocritical Insinuations, lest the Q---n and Ministers, who have been hitherto content with only *dis-*appointing the lurking Villanies of your Faction, may be at last provoked to *expose* them.

But his Respect for the Clergy is such, that he does not *insinuate* as if they really had these evil Dispositions; He only *insinuates*, that they give *too much Cause* for such *Insinuations*.

I will upon Occasion, strip some of his *Insinuations* from their Generality and Solecisms, and drag them into the Light. This Dedication to the Clergy is full of them, because here he endeavours to mold up his Rancor and Civility together; by which Constraint, he is obliged to shorten his Paragraphs, and to place them in such a Light, that they obscure one another. Supposing therefore, that I have scraped off his good Manners, in order to come at his Meaning which lies under; He tells the Clergy, that the Favour of the Queen and her Ministers, is but a *Colour of Zeal towards them*: That the People were deluded by a groundless Cry of the Church's Danger at *Sacheverell's Trial*; That the Clergy, as they are *Men of Sense and Honour*, ought to preach this Truth to their several Congregations; and let them know, that the true Design of the present Men in Power in that and all their Proceedings since, in Favour of the Church, was to bring in *Popery, France and the Pretender*, and to enslave all *Europe*, contrary to the *Laws of our Country, the Powers of the Legislature, the Faith of Nations, and the Honour of God*.

I cannot see, why the Clergy, as *Men of Sense, and Men of Honour*, (for he appeals not to them as Men of Religion) should not be allowed to know when they are in Danger, and be able to guess whence it comes, and who are their Protectors. The Design of their Destruction indeed may have been projected in the dark; but when all was ripe, their Enemies proceeded to so many Overt-Acts in the Face of the Nation, that it was obvious to the meanest People, who wanted no other Motives to rouse them.

On the other Side, Can this Author or the wisest of his Faction, assign one single Act of the present Ministry, any Way tending towards bringing in the Pretender, or to weaken the Succession in the House of Hanover? Observe then the Reasonableness of this Gentleman's Advice: The Clergy, the Gentry, and the common People, had the utmost Apprehensions of Danger to the Church under the late Ministry; yet then it was the greatest Impiety to enflame the People with any such Apprehensions. His Danger of a Popish Successor from any Steps of the present Ministry, is an artificial Calumny raised and spread against the Conviction of the Inventors, pretended to be believed only by those who abhor the Constitution in Church and State, an obdurate Faction, who compass Heaven and Earth to restore themselves upon the Ruin of their Country; yet here our Author exhorts the Clergy to preach up this Imaginary Danger to their People, and disturb the publick Peace with his strained Seditious Comments.

But how comes this gracious Licence to the Clergy from the Whigs, to concern themselves with Politicks of any Sort, though it be only the Glosses and Comments of Mr. St—le? The Speeches of the Managers at Sacheverell's Tryal, particularly those of Stanhope, Lechmere, King, Parker, and some other, seemed to deliver a different Doctrine. Nay, this very Dedication complains of some in Holy Orders who have made the Constitution of their Country, (in which and the Coptick Mr. St—le is equally skill'd) a very little Part of their Study, and yet made Obedience and Government the frequent Subjects of their Discourses. This Difficulty is easily solved; for by Politicks, they mean Obedience. Mr. Hoade, who is a Champion for Resistance, was never charged as meddling out of his Function: Hugh Peters, and his Brethren, in the Times of Usurpation, had full Liberty to preach up Sedition and Rebellion; and so here Mr. St—le issues out his Licence to the Clergy to preach up the Danger of a Popish Pretender, in Defiance of the Queen and Her Administration.

Every Whistler in a Laced Coat, who frequents the Chocolate-House, and is able to spell the Title of a Pamphlet, shall talk of the Constitution with as much Plausibility as this very Solemn Writer, and with as good a Grace blame the Clergy for meddling with Politicks which they do not understand.

derstand. I have known many of these able Politicians, furnished before they were of Age, with all the necessary Topicks of their Faction, and by the help of about Twenty Polysyllables capable of maintaining an Argument that would shine in the *Crisis*, whose Author gathered up his little Stock from the same Schools, and has writ from no other Fund.

But after all, it is not clear to me, whether this Gentleman addresseth himself to the Clergy of *England* in general, or only to those very few, (hardly enough in Case of a Change to supply the Mortality of those *Self-denying Prelates* he celebrates) who are in his Principles, and among these, only such as live in and about *London*, which probably will reduce the Number to about half a Dozen at most. I should incline to guess the latter; because he tells them, they are surrounded by a learned, wealthy, knowing Gentry, who know with what Firmness, Self-denial, and Charity, the Bishops adhered to the publick Cause, and what Contumelies those Clergymen have undergone, &c. who adhered to the Cause of Truth: By those Terms, the publick Cause, and the Cause of Truth, he understands the Cause of the Whigs in Opposition to the Queen and Her Servants: Therefore by the learned, wealthy, and knowing Gentry, he must understand the Bank and East-India Company, and those other Merchants or Citizens within the Bills of Mortality, who have been strenuous against the Church and Crown, and whose Spirit of Faction hath lately got the better of their Interest. For let him search all the rest of the Kingdom, he will find the surrounded Clergy, and the surrounding Gentry, wholly Strangers to the Merits of those Prelates, and adhering to a very different Cause of Truth, as will soon I hope be manifest by a fair Appeal to the Representatives of both.

It was very unnecessary in this Writer to bespeak the Treatment of Contempt and Derision, which the Clergy are to expect from his Faction whenever they come into Power. I believe that venerable Body is in very little Concern after what Manner their most mortal Enemies intend to treat them, whenever it shall please God for our Sins to visit us with so fatal an Event, which I hope it will be the united Endeavours both of Clergy and Laity to hinder. It would be some support to this Hope, if I could have any Opinion
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of his predicting Talent, (which some have ascribed to People of this Author's Character) where he tells us, *That Noise and Wrath will not always pass for Zeal.* What other Instances of Zeal has this Gentleman, or the rest of his Party been able to produce? If Clamour be *Noise*, it is but opening our Ears to know from what Side it comes: And if Sedition, Scurrility, Slander and Calumny, be the Fruits of *Wrath*, read the Pamphlets and Papers issuing from the *Zealots* of that Faction, or visit their Clubs and Coffee-Houses in order to form a Judgment of the Tree.

When Mr. *St—le* tells us, *WE have a Religion that wants no Support from the Enlargement of Secular Power, but is well supported by the Wisdom and Piety of its Preachers, and it's own Native Truth;* it would be good to know what Religion he professeth: For, the Clergy to whom he speaks, will never allow him a Member of the Church of England; they cannot agree, that the *Truth* of the Gospel, and the *Piety* and *Wisdom* of its Preachers, are a sufficient Support in an Evil Age, against Infidelity, Faction, and Vice, without the Assistance of *Secular Power*; unless God would please to confer the Gift of Miracles on those who wait at the Altar. I believe, they venture to go a little further, and think, that upon some Occasions, they want a little *Enlargement of Assistance from the Secular Power*, against *Atheists, Deists, Socinians*, and other Hereticks: Every first Sunday in *Lent*, a Part of the Liturgy is read to the People; in the Preface to which, the Church declares her Wishes for the Restoring of that Discipline she formerly had, and which for some Years past hath been more wanted than ever. But of this no more, lest it might insinuate *Jealousies between the Clergy and Laity*, which, the Author tells us, is the *Policy of vain ambitious Men among the former, in hopes to derive from their Order, a Veneration they cannot deserve from their Vertue.* If this be their Method for procuring Veneration, it is the most singular that ever was thought on; and the Clergy should then indeed have no more to do with Politicks of any Sort than Mr. *St—le* or his Faction will allow them.

Having thus toiled through his Dedication, I proceed to consider his Preface, which half consisting of Quotation, will be so much the sooner got through. It is a very unfair Thing in any Writer to employ his *Ignorance* and *Malice* toge-

together, because it gives his Answerer double Work: It is like the Sort of Sophistry that the Logicians call *Two Mediums*, which are never allowed in the same Syllogism. A Writer with a weak Head, and a corrupted Heart, is an over-match for any single Pen; like a hireling Jade, dull and vicious, hardly able to stir, yet offering at every turn to Kick.

He begins his Preface with such an Account of the Original of Power, and the Nature of Civil Institutions, as I am confident was never once imagin'd by any Writer upon Government from *Plato* to *Mr. Lock*. Give me leave to transcribe his first Paragraph. *I never saw an unruly Crowd of People cool by Degrees into Temper, but it gave me an Idea of the Original of Power, and the Nature of Civil Institutions. One particular Man has usually in those Cases, from the Dignity of his Appearance, or other Qualities known or imagined by the Multitude, been received into sudden Favour and Authority, the Occasion of their Difference has been represented to him, and the Matter referred to his Decision.*

I have known a Poet, who was never out of *England*, introduce a Fact by Way of Simile, which could probably no where happen nearer than in the Plains of *Lybia*; and begin with, *So have I seen*. Such a Fiction I suppose may be justified by Poetical Licence; yet *Virgil* is much more Modest: This Paragraph of *Mr. St—le's*, which he sets down as an Observation of his own, is a miserable mangled Translation of Six Verses out of that famous Poet, who speaks after this manner: *As when a Sedition arises in a great Multitude, &c. Then, if they see a wise grave Man, &c. Virgil*, who liv'd but a little after the Ruin of the *Roman Republick*, where Seditions often happened, and the Force of Oratory was great among the People, made use of a Simile, which *Mr. St—le* turns into a Fact, after such a manner, as if he had seen it an hundred Times; and builds upon it a System of the Origin of Government. When the Vulgar here in *England* assemble in a riotous Manner, (which is not very frequent of late Years) the Prince takes a much more effectual Way than that of sending Orators to appease them: But *Mr. St—le* imagines such a Crowd of People as this, where there is no Government at all; their *unruliness* quell'd, and their Passions cool'd by a particular Man, whose great Qualities they had known before.

before. Such an Assembly must have risen suddenly from the Earth, and the *Adam of Authority* drop from the Clouds; for without some previous Form of Government, no such Crowd did ever yet assemble, or could possibly be acquainted with the Merit and Dignity of any particular Man among them. But to pursue his Scheme. This Man of Authority who cools the Crowd by Degrees, and to whom they all appeal, must of Necessity prove either an open or clandestine Tyrant: A clandestine Tyrant I take to be a King of Brentford, who keeps his Army in Disguise, and whenever he happens either to Die naturally, be knockt on the Head, or Deposed, the People calmly take further Measures, and improve upon what was begun under his unlimited Power. All this, our Author tells us, with extreme Propriety, is what seems reasonable to common Sense; that is, in other Words, it seems reasonable to Reason. This is what he calls giving an Idea of the Original of Power, and the Nature of Civil Institutions. To which I Answer with great Phlegm, that I desire any Man alive to shew me in double the Number of Lines, tho' writ by the same Author, such a complicated Ignorance in History, Human Nature, or Politicks, as well as in the ordinary Proprieties of Thought or of Style.

But it seems, these profound Speculations were only premised to introduce some Quotations in favour of *Resistance*. What hath *Resistance* to do with the Succession of the House of Hanover, that the Whig Writers should perpetually affect to tag them together? I can conceive nothing else, but that their Hatred to the Queen and Ministry, puts them upon Thoughts of introducing the Successor by another Revolution. Are Cases of *extream Necessity* to be produced as common Maxims by which we are always to proceed? Should not these Gentlemen sometimes inculcate the general Rule of Obedience, and not always the Exception of Resistance? Since the former hath been the perpetual Dictates of all Laws both Divine and Civil, and the latter is still in Dispute.

I shall meddle with none of the Passages he cites, to prove the Lawfulness of resisting Princes, except that from the present Lord Chancellor's Speech, in Defence of Dr. Sacheverel: That there are extraordinary Cases, Cases of Necessity, which are implied tho' not expressed in the general Rule [of Obedience.] These Words, very clear in themselves,

Mr.

Mr. *St—le* explains into Nonsense; which in any other Author I should suspect to have been intended as a Reflection upon as great a Person as ever filled or adorned that high Station: But I am so well acquainted with his Pen, that I much more wonder how it can trace out a true Quotation than a false Comment. To see him treat my Lord *Harcourt* with so much Civility looks indeed a little suspicious, and as if he had Malice in his Heart. He calls his Lordship *a very great Man*, and *a great living Authority*, places him in Company with General *Stanhope* and Mr. *Hoadley*; and in short, takes the most effectual Method in his Power of ruining his Lordship in the Opinion of every Man who is wise or good; I can only tell my Lord *Harcourt*, for his Comfort, that these Praises are encumbered with the Doctrine of *Resistance*, and the true Revolution-Principles; and provided he will not allow Mr. *St—le* for his Commentator, he may hope to recover the Honour of being libelled again, as well as his Sovereign and Fellow Servants.

We come now to the *Crisis*: Where we meet with Two Pages by Way of Introduction to those Extracts from Acts of Parliament that constitute the Body of his Pamphlet. This Introduction begins with a Definition of Liberty; and then proceeds in a Panegyrick upon that great Blessing; his Panegyrick is made up of half a Dozen Shreds, like a School-Boy's Theme, beaten, general Topics, where any other Man alive might wander securely; but this Politician, by venturing to vary the good old Phrases and give them a new Turn, commits an hundred Solecisms and Absurdities. The weighty Truths which he endeavours to press upon his Reader are such as these; That, *Liberty is a very good Thing*; That, *Without Liberty we cannot be Free*; That, *Health is good, and Strength is good, but Liberty is better than either*; That, *No Man can be happy, without the Liberty of doing whatever his own Mind tells him is best*; That, *Men of Quality love Liberty, and common People love Liberty*; even Women and Children love Liberty; and you cannot please them better than by letting them do what they please. Had Mr. *St—le* contented himself to deliver these and the like Maxims in such intelligible Terms, I could have found where we agreed and where we differed. But let us hear some of these Axioms as he has involved them. *We cannot possess our Souls alive*
 C Plan.

Pleasure and Satisfaction except we preserve our
 selves that inestimable Blessing which we call Li-
 berty; By Liberty, I desire to be understood to
 mean the Happiness of Mens living, &c. — The true Life
 of Man consists in conducting it according to his own just Sen-
 timents and innocent Inclinations. — Man's Being is degraded
 below that of a free Agent, when his Affections
 and Passions are no longer governed by the Dictates
 of his own Mind. — Without Liberty, our Health
 (among other Things) may be at the Will of a Tyrant,
 employ'd to our own Ruin and that of our Fellow Creatures.
 If there be any of these Maxims, which is not grossly defe-
 ctive in Truth, in Sense or in Grammar, I will allow them
 to pass for uncontrollable. By the First, omitting the Pe-
 dantry of the whole Expression, there are not above one
 or two Nations in the World, where any one Man can
 possess his Soul with Pleasure and Satisfaction. In the Se-
 cond, He desires to be understood to mean, that is, he de-
 sires to be meant to mean, or to be understood to under-
 stand. In the Third, The Life of Man consists in conduct-
 ing his Life. In the Fourth, he affirms, That Mens Be-
 ings are degraded, when their Passions are no longer governed
 by the Dictates of their own Mind; directly contrary to the
 Lessons of all Moralists and Legislators, who agree mani-
 foustly, That the Passions of Men must be under the Go-
 vernment of Reason and Law; neither are Laws of any o-
 ther Use than to correct the Irregularity of our Affections.
 By the Last, Our Health is enow to our selves and other
 Men, when a Tyrant pleases, which I leave him to make
 out.

I cannot sufficiently commend our Ancestors for trans-
 mitting to us the Blessing of Liberty; yet having
 Ibid. laid out their Blood and Treasure upon the Pur-
 chase, I do not see how they acted parsimonious-
 ly; because, I can conceive nothing more generous than
 that of employing our Blood and Treasure for the Service
 of others. But I am suddenly struck with the Thought,
 that I have found his Meaning: Our Ancestors acted parsi-
 moniously, because they only spent their own Treasure for
 the Good of their Posterity; whereas we squandered away
 the Treasures of our Posterity too; but whether they will
 be thankful, and think it was done for the Preservation

of their Liberty, must be left to themselves for a Decision.

I verily believe, tho' I could not prove it in *Westminster-Hall* before a *Lord Chief Justice*, That by *Enemies to our Constitution*, and *Enemies to our present Establishment*, *Mr. St—le* would desire to be understood to mean, My Lord Treasurer, and the rest of the Ministry: By those who are grown *supine* in Proportion to the Danger to which our Liberty is every Day more exposed, I should guess he means the Tories: And, by honest Men who ought to look up with a Spirit that becomes Honesty, he understands the Whigs. I likewise believe, he would take it ill, or think me stupid, if I did not thus expound him. I say then, that according to this Exposition, The Four Great Officers of State, together with the rest of the Cabinet-Council, (except the Archbishop of *Canterbury*) are *Enemies to our Establishment*, making artful and open Attacks upon our Constitution, and are now practising indirect Arts, and mean Subtilties, to weaken the Security of those Acts of Parliament for settling the Succession in the House of *Hannover*. The First, and most Notorious of these Criminals is *Robert Harley*, Earl of *Oxford*, Lord High Treasurer, who is reputed to be Chief Minister: The Second is, *James Butler*, Duke of *Ormond*, who commands the Army, and Designs to employ it in bringing over the *Pratender*: The Third is, *Henry St. John*, Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke*, Secretary of State, who must be supposed to hold a constant Correspondence with the Court at *Bay le Duc*, as the late E. of *G. d. ph.* did with that of *St. Germain*: And, to avoid Tedioufness, *Mr. Bromley* and the rest are employ'd in their several Districts to the same End. These are the Opinions which *Mr. St—le* and his Faction, under the Direction of their Leaders, are endeavouring with all their Might to propagate among the People of *England*, concerning the present Ministry; with what Reservation to the Honour, Wisdom, or Justice of the Queen, I cannot determine; who by Her own free Choice, after long Experience of their Abilities and Integrity, and in Compliance to the general Wishes of Her People, called them to Her Service. Such an Accusation, against Persons in so high Trust, should require, I think, at least one single Overt-Act to make it good. If there be no other Choice of Persons fit to serve the Crown without Danger from the *Pratender*, ex-

cept among those who are called the Whig-Party, the *Hanover* Succession is then indeed in a very desperate State; that illustrious Family will have almost Nine in Ten of the Kingdom against it, and those principally of the Landed-Interest, which is most to be depended upon in such a Nation as ours.

I have now got as far as his Extracts, which I shall not be at the Pains of comparing with the Originals, but suppose he has got them fairly transcribed: I only think, That whoever is Patentee for Printing Acts of Parliament may have a very fair Action against him, for Invasion of Property, but this is none of my Business to enquire into.

After Two and twenty Pages spent in reciting Pag. 24. Acts of Parliament, he desires leave to repeat the *History and Progress of the Union*; upon which, I have some few Things to observe.

This Work, he tells us, *was unsuccessfully attempted by several of Her Majesty's Predecessors*; tho' I do not remember it was ever Thought on by any except King *James* the First, and the late King *William*. I have read indeed, That some small Overtures were made by the former of these Princes towards an Union between the two Kingdoms, but rejected with Indignation and Contempt by the *English*. And the Historian tells us, That how degenerate and corrupt soever the Court and Parliament then were, they would not give Ear to so infamous a Proposal. I do not find that any of the succeeding Princes before the Revolution ever resum'd the Design; because it was a Project for which there could not possibly be assigned the least Reason or Necessity: For I defy any Mortal to name one single Advantage that *England* could ever expect from such an Union.

But towards the End of the late King's Reign, upon Apprehension of the Want of Issue from him or the Princess *Anne*, a Proposition for Uniting both Kingdoms was begun, because *Scotland* had not settled their Crown upon the House of *Hanover*, but left themselves at large, in Hopes to make their Advantage: And it was thought highly dangerous to leave that Part of the Island, inhabited by a poor, fierce Northern People, at Liberty to put themselves under a different King. However the Opposition to
this

this Work was so great, that it could not be overcome till some Time after Her present Majesty came to the Crown; when by the Weakness or Corruption of a certain Minister since dead, an Act of Parliament was obtain'd for the *Scots*, which gave them leave to arm themselves, and so the Union became necessary, not for any actual Good it could possibly do us, but to avoid a probable Evil; and at the same time, save an obnoxious Minister's Head, who was so wise, as to take the first Opportunity of procuring a general Pardon by Act of Parliament, because he could not with so much Decency or Safety desire a particular One for himself. These Facts are well enough known to the whole Kingdom: And I remember, discoursing above Six Years ago with the most considerable Person of the adverse Party, and a great Promoter of the Union, he frankly own'd to me, That this Necessity, brought upon us by the wrong Management of the E— of G—, was the only Cause of the Union.

Therefore I am ready to grant Two Points to the Author of the *Crisis*: First, That the Union became necessary for the Cause above related; because it prevented the Island from being governed by Two Kings, which *England* would never have suffered; and it might probably have cost us a War of a Year or two to reduce the *Scots*. Secondly, That it would be dangerous to break this Union, at least in this Juncture, while there is a *Pretender* abroad, who might probably lay hold on such an Opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the Spirit of Faction last Summer among some People, who having been the great Promoters of the Union, and several of them the principal Gainers by it, could yet proceed so far, as to propose in the House of Lords, that it should be dissolved; while at the same Time, those Peers who had ever opposed it in the Beginning, were then for preserving it, upon the Reason I have just assign'd, and which the Author of the *Crisis* hath likewise taken Notice of.

But when he tells us, *The Englishmen ought in Generality to be more particularly careful in preserving this Union*, he argues like himself. *The late King*. Pag. 25. *dom of Scotland* (saith he) *had as numerous a Nobility as England, &c.* They had indeed; and to that we owe one of the great and necessary Evils of the Union upon

upon the Foot it now stands. Their Nobility is indeed so numerous, that the whole Revenues of their Country would be hardly able to maintain them according to the Dignity of their Titles; and what is infinitely worse, they are never likely to be extinct till the last Period of all Things, because the greatest Part of them descend to Heirs general. I imagine, a Person of Quality prevailed on to marry a Woman much his inferior, and without a Groat to her Fortune, and her Friends arguing, she was as good as her Husband, because she brought him as numerous a Family of Relations and Servants as she found in his House. *Scotland* in the Taxes is obliged to contribute One Penny for every Forty Pence laid upon *England*; and the Representatives they send to Parliament are about a Thirtieth: Every other *Scotch* Peer has all the Privileges of an *English* one, except that of Sitting in Parliament, and even Precedence before all of the same Title that shall be created for the Time to come. The Pensions and Employments possessed by the Natives of that Country now among us, do amount to more than the whole Body of their Nobility ever spent at Home; and all the Money they raise upon the Publick, is hardly sufficient to defray their Civil and Military Lists. I could point out some with great Titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the Union, tho' their whole Revenues before that Period would have ill maintained a *Welsh* Justice of the Peace; and have since gathered more Money than ever any *Scotchmen*, who had not travell'd, could form an Idea of.

I have only one Thing more to say upon Occasion of the Union Act; which is, That the Author of the *Crisis* may be fairly proved, from his own Citations, to be guilty of HIGH TREASON. In a Paper of his, called the *Englishman*, of October 29. there is an Advertisement about taking in Subscriptions for printing the *Crisis*, where the Title is published at length, with the following Clause, which the Author thought fit to drop in the Publication: [And that no Power on Earth can bar, alter, or make void the present Settlement of the Crown, &c. By R— & St—le.] In his Extract of an Act of Parliament made since the Union, it appears to be High Treason for any Person, by Writing or Printing, to maintain and assert, That the Kings

on *Queens of this Realm*, with and by the Authority of *Parliament*, are not able to make *Laws and Statutes of sufficient Force and Validity* to limit and bind the *Crown*, and the *Descent, Limitation, Inheritance, and Government* thereof. This Act being sublequent to the Settlement of the *Crown* confirmed at the *Union*, it is probable, some Friend of the Author advis'd him to leave out those *Treasonable Words* in the printed Title Page, which he had before published in the *Advertisement*; and accordingly we find, that in the *Treatise* itself, he only offers it to every good Subject's Consideration, whether this Article of the Settlement of the *Crown* is not as firm as the *Union* it self, and as the Settlement of *Episcopacy* in *England, &c.* And he thinks the *Scots* understood it so, that the *Succession* to the *Crown* was never to be controverted.

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These I take to be only *treasonable* Insinuations; but the *Advertisement* above-mentioned is actually *High-Treason*, for which the Author ought to be prosecuted, if that would avail any Thing under a Jurisdiction, where *Cursing the QUEEN* is not above the Penalty of *Twenty Marks*.

Nothing is more notorious, than that the *Whigs* of late Years, both in their Writings and Discourses, have affected upon all Occasions to allow the Legitimacy of the *Pretender*: This makes me a little wonder to see our Author labouring to prove the contrary, by producing all the popular Chat of those Times, and other solid Arguments from *Fuller's Narrative*: But it must be suppos'd, that this Gentleman acts by the Commands of his Superiors, who have thought fit at this Juncture to issue out new Orders, for Reasons best known to themselves. I wish they had been more clear in their Directions to him upon that weighty Point, whether the Settlement of the *Succession* in the House of *Hanover* be alterable or no: I have observ'd, where in his former Pages he gives it in the Negative; but in the turning of a Leaf he has wholly changed his Mind; tells us, *He wonders there can be found any Britain weak enough to contend against a Power in their own Nation, which is practis'd in a much greater Degree in other States*: And, how hard it is that Britain should

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should be debarred the Privilege of establishing its own Security, by relinquishing only those Branches of the Royal Line which threaten it with Destruction; whilst other Nations never scruple upon less Occasions to go much greater Lengths; of which he produces Instances in France, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and then adds, Can Great Britain help to advance Men to other Thrones, and have no Power in limiting its own? How can a Senator, capable of

* Mr. St—le's Speech at the Election of a Speaker.

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Conduct. Pag. 38.

Conduct. Pag. 38.

* doing Honour to Sir Thomas Hanmer, be guilty of such ridiculous Inconsistencies? The Author of the *Conduct of the Allies* (says he) has dared to drop Insinuations about altering the Succession. The Author of the *Conduct of the Allies* writes Sense and English, neither of which the Author of the *Crisis* understands: The former thinks it wrong in Point of Policy, to call in a Foreign Power to be Guarantee of our Succession, because it puts it out of the Power of our own Legislature to change our Succession without the Consent of that Prince or State who is Guarantee, whatever Necessity may happen in future Times. Now if it be High Treason to affirm by Writing, that the Legislature has no such Power; and if Mr. St—le thinks it strange that Britain should be debarred this Privilege, what could be the Crime of putting such a Case, that in future Ages a Necessity might happen of Limiting the Succession, as well as it has happened already?

When Mr. St—le reflects upon the many solemn strong Barriers (to our Succession) of Laws and Oaths, &c. he thinks all Fear vanishes before them. I think so too; provided the Epithet Solemn goes for nothing: Because, altho' I have often heard of a Solemn Day, a Solemn Feast, and a Solemn Coxcomb, yet I can conceive no Idea to my self of a Solemn Barrier. However, be that as it will; His Thoughts it seems will not let him rest, but before he is aware, he asks himself several Questions: And since he cannot resolve them, I will endeavour to give him what Satisfaction I am able. The First is, What are the Marks of a Lasting Security? To which I answer, That the Signs of it in a Kingdom or State are first, good Laws, and secondly, those Laws well executed: We are pretty well provided with the former, but extremely

extremely defective in the latter. Secondly, *What are our Tempers and our Hearts at Home?* If by *Ours* he means those of himself and his Abettors, they are most damnably wicked; impatient for the Death of the Queen; ready to gratifie their Ambition and Revenge by all desperate Methods; wholly alienate from Truth, Law, Religion, Mercy, Conscience or Honour. Thirdly, *In what Hands is Power lodg'd Abroad?* To Answer the Question naturally, *Louis XIV.* is King of *France*, *Philip V.* (by the Councils and Acknowledgments of the Whigs) is King of *Spain*, and so on. If by Power he means Money, the *D—* of *—* is thought to have more ready Money than all the Kings of *Christendom* together; but by the peculiar Disposition of Providence it is locked up in a Trunk, to which his Ambition has no Key, and that is our Security. Fourthly, *Are our unnatural Divisions our Strength?* I think not; but they are the Sign of it; for being *unnatural*, they cannot last; and this shews, that Union, the Foundation of all Strength, is more agreeable to our Nature. Fifthly, *Is it nothing to us, which of the Princes of Europe hath the longest Sword?* Not much; if we can tie up his Hands, or put a strong Shield into those of his Neighbours: Or if our Sword be as Sharp, as his is Long: Or if it be necessary for him to turn his own Sword into a Plow-sheer: Or if such a Sword happens to be in the Hands of an Infant, or struggled for by two Competitors. Sixthly, *The powerful Hand that deals out Crowns and Kingdoms all around us, may it not in time reach a King out us too?* If the powerful Hand he means be that of *France*, it may reach out as many Kings as it pleases, but we will not accept them. Whence does this Man get his Intelligence? I should think, even his Brother *Ridpath* might furnish him with better. What Crowns or Kingdoms hath *France* dealt about? *Spain* was given by the Will of the former King, in consequence of that infamous Treaty of Partition, the Advisers of which will I hope never be forgot in *England*. *Sicily* was disposed of by Her Majesty of *Great Britain*. So in effect was *Sardinia*. *France* indeed once reached out a King to *Poland*, but the People would not receive him. This Question of *Mr. St-Je's* was therefore only put in *terrorem*, without any regard to Truth. Seventhly, *Are there no Pretensions to our Crown that can ever be revived?* There may for ought I know be about a Do-

D

zen?

zen? And those in time may possibly beget an Hundred. But we must do as well as we can: Captain Bessus, when he had fifty Challenges to answer, protested he could not Fight above three Duels a Day. If the Pretender should fail (says this Writer) the French King has in his Quiver a Succession of them, the Dutchess of Savoy, or her Sons, or the Dauphin her Grandson. Let me suppose the Chevalier de St. George to be dead; the Dutchess of Savoy will then be a Pretender, and consequently must leave her Husband, because his Royal Highness (for Mr. St.-le has not yet acknowledged him for a King) is in Alliance with Her British Majesty: Her Sons, when they grow Pretenders, must undergo the same Fate. But I am at a Loss how to dispose of the Dauphin, if he happens to be King of France before the Pretendership to Britain falls to his Share; for I doubt he will never be persuaded to remove out of his own Kingdom, only because it is too near England.

But the Duke of Savoy did some Years ago put
 Pag. 33. in his Claim to the Crown of England in Right of his Wife; and he is a Prince of great Capacity, in strict Alliance with France, and may therefore very well add to our Fears of a Popish Successor. Is it the Fault of the present or of any Ministry, that this Prince put in his Claim? Must we give him Opium to destroy his Capacity? Or can we prevent his Alliance with any Prince who is in Peace with Her Majesty? Must we send to Stab or Poyson all the Popish Princes who have any pretended Title to our Crown by the Proximity of Blood? What, in the Name of God, can these People drive at? What is it they demand? Suppose the present Dauphin were now a Man, and King of France, and next Popish Heir to the Crown of England; Is he not excluded by the Laws of the Land? But what Regard will he have to our Laws? I answer; Hath not the Queen as good a Title to the Crown of France? And how is she excluded but by their Law against the Succession of Females, which we are not bound to acknowledge? And is it not in our Power to exclude Female Successors as well as in theirs? If such a Pretence shall prove the Cause of a War, what Human Power can prevent it? But our Cause must necessarily be good and righteous; for either the Kings of England have been unjustly kept out of the Possession of France, or the Dauphin, tho' nearest of Kin, can have

no legal Title to *England*. And he must be an ill Prince; indeed, who will not have the Hearts and Hands of Ninety nine in a Hundred among his Subjects against such a *Popish Pretender*.

I have been the longer in answering the Seventh Question, because it led me to consider all he had afterwards to say upon the Subject of the *Pretender*. Eighthly and lastly, He asks himself *whether Popery and Ambition are become tame and quiet Neighbours?* In this I can give him no Satisfaction, because I never was in that Street where they live; nor do I converse with any of their Friends; only I find they are Persons of a very evil Reputation. But I am told for certain that *Ambition* has removed her Lodging, and lives the very next Door to *Faction*; where they keep such a Racket, that the whole Parish is disturbed, and every Night in an uproar.

Thus much in answer to those Eight uneasy Questions, put by the Author to himself, in order to satisfy every Briton, and give him an Occasion of taking an impartial View of the Affairs of Europe in general, as well as of Great-Britain in particular.

After enumerating the great Actions of the Confederate Armies under the Command of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, Mr. St—le observes in the Bitterness of his Soul, that the *British General*, however unaccountable it may be to Posterity, was not permitted to enjoy the Fruits of his glorious Labour. Ten Years Fruits it seems were not sufficient, and yet they were the fruitfullest Campaigns that ever any General crops. However, I cannot but hope, that Posterity will not be left in the dark, but some Care taken both of Her Majesty's Glory, and of the Reputation of those She employs. An impartial Historian may tell the World (and the next Age will easily believe what it continues to feel) that the Avarice and Ambition of a few factious insolent Subjects had almost destroyed their Country, by continuing a ruinous War, in conjunction with Allies, for whose sakes principally we fought, who refused to bear their just Proportion of the Charge, and were connived at in their Refusal for private Ends. That these Factious People treated the best and kindest of Sovereigns with Insolence, Cruelty and Ingratitude, (of which he will be able to produce several Instances.) That they encouraged Persons and Prin-

principles alien from our Religion and Government, in order to strengthen their Faction. He will tell the Reasons why the *General* and *first Minister* were seduced to be Heads of this Faction, contrary to the Opinions they had always professed. Such an Historian will shew many Reasons which made it necessary to remove the *General* and his Friends, who knowing the Bent of the Nation were against them, expected to lose their Power when the War was at an End. Particularly the Historian will discover the whole intrigue of the Duke of *M---* endeavouring to procure a Commission to be *General for Life*; wherein Justice will be done to a Person at that time of high Station in the Law; who, (I mention it to his Honour) advised the *D---*, when he was consulted upon it, not to accept of such a Commission. By these, and many other Instances which Time will bring to Light, it may perhaps appear not very unaccountable to Posterity, why this great Man was dismissed at last, but rather why he was dismissed no sooner.

But this is entering into a wide Field. I shall therefore leave *Posterity* to the Information of better Historians than the Author of the *Crisis* or my self, and go on to inform the present Age in some Facts, which this greater Orator and Politician thinks fit to misrepresent with the utmost degree either of natural or wilful Ignorance. He asserts that in the Duke of *Ormond's* Campaign, *after a Suspension of Arms between Great Britain and France, proclaimed at the Head of the Armies, the British, in the midst of the Enemies Garrison, withdrew themselves from their Confederates.* The Fact is directly otherwise; For the *British* Troops were most famously deserted by the Confederates, after all that could be urged by the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Earl of *Stratford*, to persuade the Confederate Generals not to forsake them. The Duke was directed to avoid engaging in any Action till he had further Orders, because an Account of the King of *Spain's* Renunciation was every Day expected: This the *Imperialists* and *Dutch* knew well enough, and therefore proposed to the Duke in that very juncture to engage the *French*, for no other Reason but to render desperate all the Queen's Measures towards a Peace. Was not the certain Possession of *Dunkirk* of equal Advantage to the Uncertainty of a Battle? A whole Campaign under the Duke of *Mallowburgh*, with such an Acquisition, tho' at the Cost of ma-

ny Thousand Lives, and several Millions of Money, would have been thought very gloriously ended. Neither after all, was it a new Thing, either in the *British* General or the *Dutch* Deputies, to refuse Fighting, when they did not approve it: When the Duke of *Marlborough* was going to invest *Bouchain*, the Deputies of the *States* pressed him in vain to engage the Enemy, and One of them was so far discontented upon his Grace's Refusal, that he presently became a Partizan of the Peace; yet I do not remember any Clamour then raised here against the Duke upon that Account. Again, when the *French* invaded *Doway*, after the Confederates had deserted the Duke of *Ormond*, Prince *Eugene* was violently bent upon a Battle, and said they should never have another so good an Opportunity: But Monsieur —, a private Deputy, rose up, and opposed it so far, that the Prince was forced to desist. Was it then more criminal in the Duke of *Ormond* to refuse Fighting, by express Commands of the Queen, and in order to get Possession of *Dunkirk*, than for the Duke of *Marlborough* to give the same Refusal, without any such Orders, or any such Advantage? Or shall a *Dutch* Deputy assume more Power than the Queen of Great Britain's General, acting by the immediate Commands of his Sovereign?

The Emperor and the Empire (says Mr. *Stanhope*, and many by Way of Admiration) continue the War! Is Pag. 51. his Imperial Majesty able to continue it or not? If he be, then Great Britain has been strangely used for Ten Years past: Then how came it to pass, That of above Thirty Thousand Men in his Service in *Italy*, at the Time of the Battle of *Turin*, there were not above Four thousand paid by himself? If he be not able to continue it, Why does he go on? The Reasons are clear, because the War only affects the Princes of the Empire, (whom he is willing enough to expose) but not his own Dominions. Besides, the Imperial Ministers are in daily Expectation of the Queen's Death, which they hope will give a new Turn to Affairs, and rekindle the War in *Europe* upon the old Foot; and we know that the Ministers of that Court publicly assign it for a Reason of their Obstinacy against Peace, that they Hope for a sudden Revolution in *England*. In the mean Time, this Appearance of the Emperor being forsaken by his

his Ally, will serve to encrease the Clamour both here and in Holland, against Her Majesty and those She employs.

Mr. St—le says, *There can be no Crime in affirming, (if it be a Truth) That the House of Bourbon is at this Juncture become more formidable, and bids fairer for an Universal Monarchy, and to engross the whole Trade of Europe, than it did before the War.*

No Crime in affirming it, if it be a Truth. I will for once allow his Proposition. But if it be false, then I affirm, That whoever advances so Seditious a Falshood, deserves to be hanged. Does he mean by the House of Bourbon, the two Kings of France and Spain? If so, I reject his Meaning, which would insinuate that the Interests and Designs of both those Princes will be same, whereas they are more opposite than those of any Two other Monarchs in Christendom. This is the old foolish Slander so frequently flung upon the Peace, and as frequently refuted. These factious Undertakers of the Press write with great Advantage; they strenuously affirm a thousand Falshoods, without Fear, Wit, Conscience or Knowledge; and we who answer them, must be at the Expence of an Argument for each. After which, in the very next Pamphlet, we see the same Assertions produced again, without the least Notice of what has been said to disprove them. By the House of Bourbon, does he mean only the French King for the Time being? If so, and his Assertion be true, then that Prince must either deal with the Devil, or else the Money and Blood spent in our Ten Years Victories against him might as well have continued in the Purses and Veins of Her Majesty's Subjects.

But the particular Assertions of this Author are easier detected than his general ones; I shall therefore proceed upon examining the former. For Instance: I desire him to ask the Dutch, who can best inform him, *Why they delivered up Traerbach to the Imperialists?* For as to the Queen, Her Majesty was never once consulted in it; whatever his Preceptors the Politicians of Button's Coffee-House may have informed him to the contrary.

Mr. St—le affirms, *That the French have begun the Demolition of Dunkirk Contemptuously and Arbitrarily their own Way.* The Governor of the Town, and those Gentlemen entrusted with the Inspection

tion of this Work, do assure me, that the *Fact* is altogether otherwise: That the Method prescribed by those whom Her Majesty's employs hath been exactly followed, and that the Works are already demolished. I will venture to tell him further, That the Demolition was so long deferred, in order to remove those Difficulties which the Barrier-Treaty has put us under; and the Event hath shewn, that it was prudent to proceed no faster till those Difficulties were got over. The *Mole* and *Harbour* could not be destroyed till the Ships were got out, which by Reason of some profound Secrets of State, did not happen till t'other Day.

Who gave him those just Suspensions that the *Mole* and *Harbour* will never be destroy'd? What is it he would now insinuate? That the Ministry is bribed to leave the most important Part of the Work undone; or, that the Pretender is to invade us from thence; or, that the Queen hath entered into a Conspiracy with her Servants to prevent the good Effects of the Peace, for no other End but to lose the Affections of Her People, and endanger Her Self.

Instead of any further Information, which I could easily give, but which no honest Man can want; I venture to affirm, that the *Mole* and *Harbour* of *Dunkirk* will in a short Time be most effectually destroy'd; and at the same Time, I venture to prophesse, that neither Mr. *St—le*, nor his Faction, will ever confess they believe it.

After all, it is a little hard, that the QUEEN cannot be allow'd to demolish this Town in whatever Manner she pleases to fancy: Mr. *St—le* must have it done his own Way, and is angry the *French* have pretended to do it theirs; and yet he wrongs them into the Bargain. For my own Part, I do seriously think, the most *Christian* King to be a much better Friend of Her Majesty's than Mr. *St—le*, or any of his Faction; besides, it is to be consider'd, that he is a Monarch and a Relation; and therefore if I were a Privy-Councillor, and my Advice to be asked, which of those Two † *Gentlemen*

Born should have the Direction in the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, I would give it for the former; because I look upon Mr. *St—le*, in Quality of a Member of his Party, to be much more skilful in demolishing at Home than Abroad.

There

There is a Prospect of more Danger to the Balance of Europe, and to the Trade of Britain, from the Emperor over-running Italy, than from France over-running the Empire; That his Imperial Majesty entertains such Thoughts, is visible to the World: And tho' little can be said to justify many Actions of the French King, yet the worst of them hath never equalled the Emperor's arbitrary keeping the Possession of Milan, directly contrary to his Oath, and to the express Words of the Golden Bull; which oblige him to deliver up every Fief that falls; or else they must all in the Course of Time lapse into his own Hands.

I was at a Loss who it was that Mr. St—le hinted at some Time ago by the powerful Hand, that deals out Crowns and Kingdoms all around us: I now plainly find, he meant no other Hand but his own. He hath dealt out the Crown of

Spain to France; to France he hath given leave
 Pag. 32. to invade the Empire next Spring with Two hundred thousand Men; And now at last, he deals
 Ibid. to France the Imperial Dignity; and so farewell Liberty; Europe will be French. But in order to bring all this about, the Capital of Austria, the Residence of his Imperial Majesty, must continue to be visited by the Plague, of which the Emperor must die, and so the Thing is done.

Why should not I venture to deal out one Scepter in my Turn as well as Mr. St—le? I therefore deal out the Empire to the Elector of Saxony, upon failure of Issue to this Emperor at his Death; provided the Whigs will prevail on the Son to turn Papist to get an Empire, as they did upon the Father to get a Kingdom. Or if this Prince be not approved of, I deal out in his stead, the Elector of Bavaria: And in one or other of these, I dare engage to have all Christendom to second me, whatever the Spleen, in the Shape of Politicks, may dictate to the Author of the Crisis.

The Design of Mr. St—le, in representing the Circumstances of the Affairs of Europe, is to signify to the World, that all Europe is put in the high Road to Slavery by the Corruption of Her Majesty's present Ministers; and so he goes on to Portugal; which having, during the

Ibid. War supplied us with Gold in exchange for our Woollen Manufacture, has only at present a Suspension of Arms for its Protection, to last no longer than till the

the Catalonians are retained; and then the old Pretensions of Spain to Portugal will be revived: And Portugal when once enslaved by Spain, falls naturally with the rest of Europe into the Gulph of France. In the mean time, let us see what Relief a little Truth can give this unhappy Kingdom. That Portugal hath yet no more than a Suspension of Arms, they may thank themselves, because they came so late into the Treaty; and that they came so late, they may thank the Whigs, whose false Representations they were so weak to believe. However, the Queen has voluntarily given them a Guarantee to defend them against Spain till the Peace shall be made; and such Terms after the Peace are stipulated for them, as the Portuguese themselves are contented with.

Having mentioned the Catalonians, he puts the Question, *Who are name the Catalonians without a name* *Test?* That can I; for he has told so many me. *Page. 32.* Inevitably Scories without one Syllable of Truth, that he has blunted the Edge of my Fear, and I shall not be startled as the work he can say. What he affirms concerning the Catalonians is included in the following Particulars: First, *That they were drawn into the War by the Management of the Maritime Powers;* by which are understood England and Holland. But he is too good a Friend of the Dutch, to give them any Part of the Blame. Secondly, *That they are now abandoned and exposed to the Reformation of an ungrateful Prince.* Thirdly, *That they always opposed the Person and Interest of that Prince, who is their present King.* Lastly, *That the Dutch is dreadful of those who shall in the Sight of God be esteemed their Destroyers.* And if we interpret the Infimiation he makes, according to his own Mind, the Destruction of those People must be imputed to the persons Ministry.

I am sometimes in Charity disposed to hope, That this Writer is not always sensible of the flagrant Falshoods he utters, but is either byassed by an Inclination to believe the worst, or a Want of Judgment to chuse his Informers. That the Catalonians were drawn into the War by Management of Her Majesty should not in Decency have been affirmed till about Fifty Years hence, when it might be supposed there would be no living Witness left to dispute it. It was only upon the Assurance of a Revolt, given by the Prince of Hesse and others, and their Invitation, that

the Queen was prevailed with to send her Forces upon that Expedition. When Barcelona was taken by a most unexpected Accident, of a Bomb lighting on the Magazine, when indeed the Catalans revolted, having before submitted and sworn Allegiance to Philip, as much as any other Province of Spain. Upon the Peace between that Crown and Britain, the Queen, in order to ease the Emperor, and save his Troops, stipulated with King Philip for a Neutrality in Italy, and that his Imperial Majesty should have Liberty to evacuate Catalonia, upon Condition of absolute Indemnity to the Catalans, with an entire Restitution to their Honour, Dignity and Estates. At this Neutrality was never observed by the Emperor, so he never effectually evacuated Catalonia, for the he sent away the main Body, he left behind many Officers and private Men, who now stir up and assist these obstinate People to continue in their Rebellion. It is true indeed, that King Philip did not absolutely restore the Catalans to all their old Privileges, of which they never made other use than as an Encouragement to rebel; he gave them the same Privileges with his Subjects of Castile, particularly the Liberty of Trading, and having Employments in the West Indies, which they never enjoyed before. I believe, that Queen Elizabeth to her last Power of protecting her Subjects in the foreign, where in the most Christian King was obliged to defend Her, for his Catholic Majesty persecuted and more than to retrench those Privileges under the pretext of which they now rebel. They had formerly the Liberty of France. How dreadful then must the Doom be of those who hinder these People from submitting to the gentle Terms offered them by their Rival, and who altho' they are conscious of their own Inability to furnish one single Ship for the Support of the Catalans, are at this Instant spurring them on to their Ruin, by Promises of Aid and Protection. I shall now give you an Answer to Mr. St. As's Account of the Affairs of Sicily, from which he deduces the Universal Monarchy of France, and the Danger of it. I know not how many Popish Successors to Britain will political Reflections of such a strange and foolish sort will most of them say. Pagella called the Persian who seems to be the most favoured now, named by the French King in the late Treaty, is the Duke of Savoy. Extremely right. For, whatever that

that Prince got by the Peace, he puts entirely to Her M^{ty}.
 justly, as a full Reward for his having been so long and so
 in an Ally; neither was France brought with more Diffi-
 culty to yield any one Point, than was of following the
 Duke such a Barrier as the Queen insisted on. He
 is become the most powerful Prince in Italy. I had I Page 33
 rather see Him so than the Emperor. He is sup-
 posed to have entered into a secret and strict Alliance with the
 House of Bourbon. This is one of those Facts wherein I am
 most inclined to believe the Author, because it is what he
 must needs be utterly ignorant of, and therefore might pos-
 sibly be true.

I thought indeed we should be safe from all Popish Inva-
 sions as far as Italy, because of the prodigious Clutter la-
 bours sending the Pretender thither. But they will never
 agree where to fix their Longitude. The Duke of Savoy is
 the more dangerous for removing to Sicily: He adds to our
 Fears for being too far off, and the Chevalier de

St. George for being too near. So, Whether Page 33
 France designs Germany, or be in Power and ad-
 vantage with either Event will assist us and
 Holland in Affairs of France, who has a Quiver full of Bro-
 waders at his Back, whenever the Chevalier shall die.

This was just the Logick of poor Prince Butler, a Splen-
 did Madman, whom every Body may remember when he
 Town Prince Pamphile in Italy employed his Mission to
 torment Prince Butler here. But what if Prince Pamphile
 dies? Why then, he has left in his Will for his Heir and
 Executors to torment Prince Butler for ever.

I cannot think it a Misfortune what Mr. St. John affirms
 That transferable Books lately dispersed among us, I mean
 striking apparently at the Hanover Succession. Ibid. w^{ch}
 have passed almost without Observation from the
 Generality of the People: because it seems a certain Sign
 that the Generality of the People are well disposed to that
 Illustrious Family: But I look upon it as a great Evil, to
 see Seditious Books dispersed among us, apparently striking
 at the Queen and her Administration, at the Constitution
 in Church and State, and at all Religion; yet passing with-
 out Observation from the Generality of those in Power. But
 whether this Recklessness may be imputed to White-Hall or
 Westminster-Hall, is other Mens Business to enquire. Ma-
 14 ginn

*St. I know in his Conscience, that the Quaker will not
ingale Brethren, much from one of his own Party. And
as for the poor Nonjuring Clergyman, who was treated
with committing to the Press a late Book on the Subject of
Hereditary Right, by a strain of the *Snowden* too, he is
now, as I am told, with half a Score Children, starving
and rotting among Thieves and Pick-pockets, in the common
Room of a Rinking Jail. I have never seen either the Book
on the Publisher; however, I would fain see the *High
Baron* in the World a Question, Why he who hath so of-
ten drunk the Abdicated King's Health upon his Knee &c.
But the Transition is natural and frequent, and I shall not
impute him for an Answer.*

*It is the hardest Case in the World, that Mrs. S. should
take up the artificial Reports of her own Faction,
and then put them off upon the World, as said
Tbid.*

*Monst. Fears of a Popish Successor. I can assure
him, that no good Subject of the Queen is under
the least Concern whether the *Providence* be converted or no,
farther than their Wish, that all Men would embrace the
true Religion. But reporting backward and forward
upon this Point, helps to keep up the Noise, and is a To-
pick for Mr. S. to enlarge himself upon, by showing
how little we can depend on such Conversions; by col-
lecting a List of Popish Cruelties, and repeating, after him-
self and the Bishop of S. —, the dismal Effects likely to fol-
low upon the Return of that Superstition among an*

*But this Writer is reported by those who know him
to be what the Romish call *Jeuneur*, his Fear and Con-
rage varying according to the Weather in our mountain
Climate, I am apt to believe the two last Pages of his Op-
us were written on a *Sunshiny Day*. This I guess from the
general Tenor of them, and particularly from an un-
necessary Assertion, which, if he believes as truly as I do, will at
once overthrow all his Foreign and Domestic
Page 36. *Fears of a Popish Successor. It is added, that
those who are for the House of Han-
over are infinitely superior in Numbers, Wealth, Quality,
and all Arts Military and Civil, to those in the opposite
party, besides which, we have the Laws, Power, and Arms on
our side. The Last, I say, the Last. This elegant Re-
petition, as I think, is a little out of place, for the Street
might**

might better have been laid upon so great a Misperception of the Nation; without which, I doubt the Laws would be of little weight altho' they are very good additional Securities. And, if what he here asserts be true, as it certainly is, tho' he asserts it; (for I allow even the Majority of his own Party to be against the Pretender) there can be no Danger of a Popish Successor, except from the unreasonable Jealousies of the few among that Party, and from the Malice, the Avarice, or Ambition of the worst; without which, Britain would be able to defend her Succession against all her Enemies both at Home and Abroad. Most of the Danger from abroad which he enumerates as the Consequences of this very bad Peace, made by the Queen, and approved by Parliament, must have subsisted under any Peace at all; which, among other Projects equally feasible, we could have regulated so as to put the Throat of every Popish Pretension to the Royal Family.

Well, by this Author's own Confession, a number infinitely superior, and the best circumstanced imaginable, are for the Successor in the House of Heaven. This Succession is established, confirmed, and secured by several Laws; Her Majesty's repeated Declarations; and the Oaths of all Her Subjects, engaged both Her and Them to preserve what those Laws have settled. This is a Security indeed, a Security adequate at least to the Importance of the Thing! and yet according to the Whig Scheme, as delivered to us by Mr. St. John and his Coadjutors, is altogether insufficient; and the Succession will be defeated, the Pretender brought in, and Popery established among us, without the further Assistance of this Wicked and his Faction.

And what Securities have our Adversaries substituted in the Place of these? A Club of Politicians, where Young Adams presides; a Crisis created by Mr. B—; a Conspiracy of Jesuits, Stock-jobbers to ruin Credit; a Report of the Queen's Death; an Effigy of the Pretender run twice thro' the Body by a valiant Peer; a Speech by the Author of the Oath; and to finish up all, an unlimited Freedom of reviling her Majesty, and those she employs.

I have now finished the most disgusting Task that ever I undertook; I could with most ease have written Three dull Pamphlets, than remark'd upon the Falshood and Absurdities of One. But I was quite confounded last Wednesday, when

when the Printer came with another Pamphlet in his Hand, written by the same Author, and entitled, *The Englishman, being the Close of the Paper so called*. Sec. He desired I would read it over, and considered it in a Paper by it self; which last I absolutely refused. Upon Perusal, I found it chiefly an Invective against *Tory* the Ministry, the *Examiner*, the Clergy, the *Queen*, and the *Post-Boy*. Yet at the same time with great Justice exclaiming against those who presumed to offer the least Word against the Head of that Faction whom her Majesty discarded. The Author likewise proposes an *equal Division* of *Honours and Employments* between the *Whigs* and *Tories*: *Blaspheming* the *former* *as* *being* *no* *Part* *or* *Portion* *of* *Divine* *Providence* *in* *the* *Government* *of* *the* *Church* *and* *State*. He insists, That *Her Majesty* *has* *personally* *fulfilled* *the* *Articles* *of* *the* *Bill* *of* *the* *Page* *117* *against* *the* *Demerits* *of* *Dunkirk* *and* *not* *reflected* *with* *great* *Satisfaction* *on* *the* *Good* *already* *done* *in* *his* *Colony* *by* *the* *Chife*. *Now* *with* *Desires* *God* *will* *send* *him* *old* *and* *young*. He gives us hopes that he will leave off *Page 18*. Writing, and conclude his *Quest* and *Happiness* *with* *the* *best* *and* *concludes* *with* *a* *Letter* *to* *the* *Friend* *at* *Court*. I suppose by the *Style* *of* *the* *Letter*, and *the* *like*, it must be some Body there of his own Level, among whom his Party have indeed more *Followers* than I could wish. In this Letter he asserts, That the present Ministry were not educated in the Church of *England*, but are *run* *Converts* *from* *Popery*. Upon which I can only reflect, how blind the Malice of that Man must be, who invents a groundless Lie in order to defame his Superiors, which would be no Disgrace, if it had been a Truth. And he concludes, with making Three Demands for *the* *Page 22*. *Satisfaction* *of* *himself* *and* *others* *Malcontents*. First, *The Demolition* *of* *the* *Harbour* *of* *Dunkirk*. Secondly, *That* *Great* *Britain* *and* *France* *should* *be* *jointly* *joyn* *against* *the* *arbitrary* *Power* *of* *the* *Duke* *of* *Lorraine* *and* *force* *the* *Pretender* *from* *his* *Asylum* *at* *Bar* *in* *Dutch*. Lastly, *That* *his* *Electoral* *Highness* *of* *Hanover* *would* *be* *so* *grateful* *to* *signify* *to* *all* *the* *World* *the* *perfect* *and* *under* *standing* *he* *has* *with* *the* *Court* *of* *England*, *in* *an* *Act* *of* *Thanks* *to* *Her* *Majesty* *has* *pleased* *to* *declare* *the* *same* *that* *He* *has* *in* *Her* *Part*. *But* *I* *was* *quite* *confounded* *at* *the* *Words* *of* *One*. *As*

As to the First of these Demands, I will venture to undertake it shall be granted; but then Mr. *St—le*, and his Brother *Malecontents*, must promise to believe the Thing is done, after those employ'd have made their Report, or else bring Vouchers to disprove it. Upon the Second; I cannot tell, whether Her Majesty will engage in a War against the Duke of *Lorain*, to force him to remove the Pretender; But I believe, if the Parliament should think it necessary to Address upon such a Occasion, the Queen will move that Prince to send him away. His last Demand, offered under the Title of a *Wish*, is of so insolent and seditious a Strain, that I care not to touch it. Here he directly charges Her Majesty with delivering a Falshood to Her Parliament from the Throne; and declares he will not believe her, till the Elector of *Hanover* himself shall vouch for the Truth of what She hath so solemnly affirmed.

I agree with this Writer that it is an idle Thing in his Antagonists to trouble themselves upon the *Articles of his Birth, Education, or Fortune*; for Page 2. whoever writes at this Rate of his Sovereign, to whom he owes so many personal Obligations, I should never enquire whether he be a *Gentleman Born*, but whether he be a *Human Creature*.

FINIS.

[illegible]

